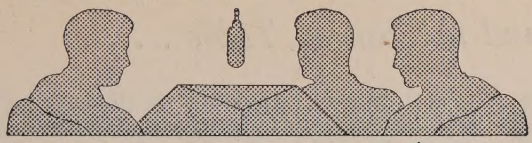
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ROUND TABLE

1943—Challenge to the Republican Party

A Radio Discussion by

* NEIL JACOBY
* MAX LERNER
* HAROLD STASSEN

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January 10, 1943

Around the Round Table . . . .

NEIL H. JACOBY, secretary of the University of Chicago and professor of finance in the School of Business at the University, graduated from the University of Saskatchewan, and in the fall of 1930 he came to the University of Chicago as a graduate student and assistant to Professor Simeon Leland of the department of economics. He was just completing his Master's thesis on "Sales Taxation of the United States" when Governor Henry Horner appointed the young economist as supervisor of the Legal and Research Division of the Department of Finance of the State of Illinois, where he worked especially on the Illinois sales tax. Mr. Jacoby was meanwhile asked by the premier of Saskatchewan to head a provincial tax commission to investigate the financial structure of Saskatchewan and its municipalities, and he was granted leave by the state of Illinois to execute this study. Mr. Jacoby has had experience in private business as manager of the research department of the investment banking and counsel firm of Lawrence Stern and Company. Dr. Jacoby has written many articles and reports, and he has authored the following books: *Retail Sales Taxation* (1938); *Inter-government Fiscal Relations in Illinois* (1938) (with Leland and others); co-author of *Term Lending to Business* (1942); and *Accounts Receivable—Financing* (in press).

MAX LERNER, professor of political science at Williams College, received his A.B. degree from Yale University and also studied law there. He was granted his A.M. degree from Washington University (St. Louis) and his Ph.D. degree from the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government (Washington, D.C.). Professor Lerner has also taught at Sarah Lawrence College, Wellesley Summer Institute, and Harvard University. As well as his teaching career, Dr. Lerner was managing editor of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, editor of the *Nation*, and director of the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council. At the present time he is a contributor to the *Nation* as well as many other publications. He is the author of *It Is Later than You Think* (1938), *Ideas Are Weapons* (1939), and *Ideas for the Ice Age* (1941).

HAROLD E. STASSEN, governor of Minnesota, attended the University of Minnesota's college and law school and was admitted to the bar in 1929. He was elected governor of Minnesota in 1938 and became the youngest governor that Minnesota had ever had. He has since been re-elected for a second and a third term. Governor Stassen was temporary chairman and keynoter of the Republican National Convention in 1940. During 1940 and 1941 he served as national chairman of the National Governors' Conference and of the Council of State Governments.

(SECOND PRINTING)

1943—Challenge to the Republican Party

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MR. JACOBY: I'd like to ask, first of all, what is the Republican party? Who is the Republican party? Does Mr. Willkie speak for the Republican party? Does Mr. Hoover? Governor Stassen, do you speak for the Republican party?

GOV. STASSEN: In its broadest sense the Republican party now is the party that I believe has the support of the majority of the people of this country.[1] There is within it, of course, a considerable divergence of views, and no one man now has the authority to speak for the party. Those views will become vocalized and definite at the next national convention.

MR. LERNER: That means, doesn't it, that there's a real struggle for power going on now within the Republican party as well as within the Democratic party?

GOV. STASSEN: I would rather say that the process of democracy is working within the Republican party in a very proper way. It is

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[1] The Republicans, though failing to win House control, outvoted the Democrats in the races for Congress for the first time in fourteen years in the November 3 elections. The highest vote recorded in each state, whether for senator, governor, representative-at-large, or the combined vote for representatives by districts, disclosed that an aggregate of only 30,024,927 persons cast ballots. This was the smallest since the presidential year of 1924, when 29,058,647 voted. Republicans polled 14,217,320, or 50.6 per cent, of the total vote for members of the House; the Democrats 13,331,245, or 47.4 per cent; and other parties 563,018, or 2.0 per cent. In the last congressional elections in 1938 the Republicans polled 47.3 per cent against the Democrats' 49.0 per cent.

much the preferable way to have these variations of views within a party worked out within it than to have the system that France had, with so many different parties and small factions competing at the elections.

MR. JACOBY: There's always a difficulty, is there not, in discussing American political affairs in that one finds all shades of variation in opinion, from black to white, in both parties, so that in both parties one finds members at each extreme, or in the gray spectrum in between?

MR. LERNER: That means, of course, that there are Republicans not only in Congress and out of Congress; there are even Republicans within the Democratic party today. William Allen White, I remember, once made a suggestion that what America actually has is not two parties but four parties—conservative Republicans, liberal Republicans, conservative Democrats, and liberal Democrats.

GOV. STASSEN: In reality, too, it shades between those various statements that you make. We have, of course, Senator McNary in the Senate and Congressman Martin in the House as the leaders of those two bodies.[2] We have Wendell Willkie, presidential nominee

[2] On January 5, 1943, the House Republican caucus approved a minority-party statement of policy written by their leader, Martin, pledging themselves to devote their energies to cooperation in winning the war, curtailment of federal expenses, overhaul of the tax structure, "preservation of constitutional government," preservation of "private enterprise from destruction," protection of "our free press," ousting of "special privilege seekers from entrenched positions in government," curbing of "the reckless granting of blanket powers and blank checks," elimination of unnecessary bureaus and agencies, tax collection on a pay-as-you-go basis, release of "every third federal employe in the regular establishments for war work," creation of congressional committees to deal with aviation development and post-war problems, and "a fair deal and an opportunity to survive" for small business.

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last election, former President Hoover, Alf Landon, and many of the governors, new and old, who are spokesmen in some degree for the Republican party.

MR. LERNER: From one standpoint the Republican party is not really the opposition party. From one standpoint it should assume the responsibilities of a party making policy, because, as I see the record today, what we have is an Administration which is opposed by the Republican party, plus the Democratic Tory groups which join with the Republicans in being anti-New Deal.

MR. JACOBY: Don't you think that there are a few New Dealish Republicans?

MR. LERNER: I think that one could find them if he looked with an intense enough microscope.

MR. JACOBY: Be that as it may, I'd like to suggest that there are three major challenges to the Republican party in 1943. One is the challenge of the prosecution of the war. Another is that of post-war internal reconstruction. A third is the challenge of foreign relations. Let us begin our discussion with the first of these challenges.

ANNOUNCER: *Representative Joseph Martin, Republican leader of the House of Representatives, last week pledged full cooperation in the winning of the war. Many* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask: "Where does cooperation begin and politics end?" In other words, what are the chief Republican criticisms of the prosecution of the war, and how would Republicans correct the conditions that they criticize?*

GOV. STASSEN: There is a variation of view. The Republicans are agreed that we should unite in driving through to a complete, decisive victory and that we should not have a weak, negotiated peace. But they are also united in believing that the Administration should be more effective and efficient in the administration of the

war on the home front. Alf Landon has pointed out some of the weaknesses of the bureaucratic approach.[3]

MR. JACOBY: Would you agree, Governor Stassen, that the nub of the criticism is that there has been no clearly defined authority at the top for making policy and that there's been too much centralization of the execution of the details of policy?

GOV. STASSEN: Yes. The weakness in administration has been that there has not been a single-headed directiveness in the national administration, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, that there has been an endeavor to reach into local details of administration rather than to turn these over to local government which, with appropriate flexibility, functions better in a country of this size and with our government of the people.

MR. LERNER: There's a lot in what you say, but may I say that if you look at what the Administration has actually done during the year that we've been at war, we shall have to admit that it's been a considerable achievement.

Just imagine the administrative achievement of building an army almost overnight and building a huge army. Just imagine the achievement of creating a war economy. Actually, it's pretty easy for those out of power to take pot shots at those in power. They're relieved of the responsibility for having to do it, and they can always find criticisms.

MR. JACOBY: I join with you, Mr. Lerner, in saying that the Republican party has not, in the last session, lived up to the responsibilities that it ought to have. As one specific illustration, I think that it was highly unwise for certain Republican members of both the Senate and the House to try to block the Treasury's program for taxation last year. It would be extremely desirable if Republicans should now get behind an anti-inflation tax program

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[3] See Alf M. Landon, "War Incentives: What Are the American People Aiming At?" *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1942.

which would mean a sharp reversal of the views that some of them have held.

GOV. STASSEN: But the Republican party should continue to perform the function of criticism. I do agree that in time of war it should be more constructive and that it should suggest alternatives. In the inflation situation the Republican position was that the inflation control should be completely across the boards as to labor, agriculture, and industry rather than trying to hold back from the entire inflation approach.

MR. JACOBY: Yes, but I think that the Republicans in the House and Senate misconceived the real issue. The way to lick inflation is primarily one of getting money out of the markets of the country—that is, taking it away from people by bond-buying and taxation.[4] I know that there is a good deal of carping criticism of the Treasury tax program by Senator Taft and various other prominent Republicans.

MR. LERNER: I agree with Jacoby that the Republicans in Congress have not too good a record on the whole inflation question. I think, however, that in many respects the Republicans have criticized constructively and that the Administration, through the process of trial and error, has rectified its mistakes. But much of the criticism has come not from the Republicans but from many of the real New Deal Democrats in Congress. If you look at where the best criticisms have come from during the past, I would say that they have come from the Tolan Committee, from the Truman Committee, and from the seven congressional committees which have just combined in order to ask for a real, single-minded direction of the war.[5]

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[4] See Erwin Griswold, Arthur Marget, and Henry Simons, *Your Taxes*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 238, broadcast October 4, 1942.

[5] For a discussion of some of the work of the Tolan Committee see Robert Lamb, Louis Wirth, and Leo Wolman, *Manpower*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 241, broadcast November 1, 1942.

GOV. STASSEN: Of course, in each of those instances the committees had Republican and Democratic groups upon them.

MR. LERNER: That's right. In each instance the leadership has come from the Democrats whom I have mentioned.

GOV. STASSEN: Of course, the Democrats, being the majority party, have the chairmen and the majority members of every committee. That's a part of our parliamentary setup.

I think, further, that we've been slow to learn the lessons from the last war—slow to learn, for example, from the Baruch experience at that time—and that that experience is something that is now belatedly moving in this single-headed direction and in the more streamlining direction.

MR. JACOBY: Correct.

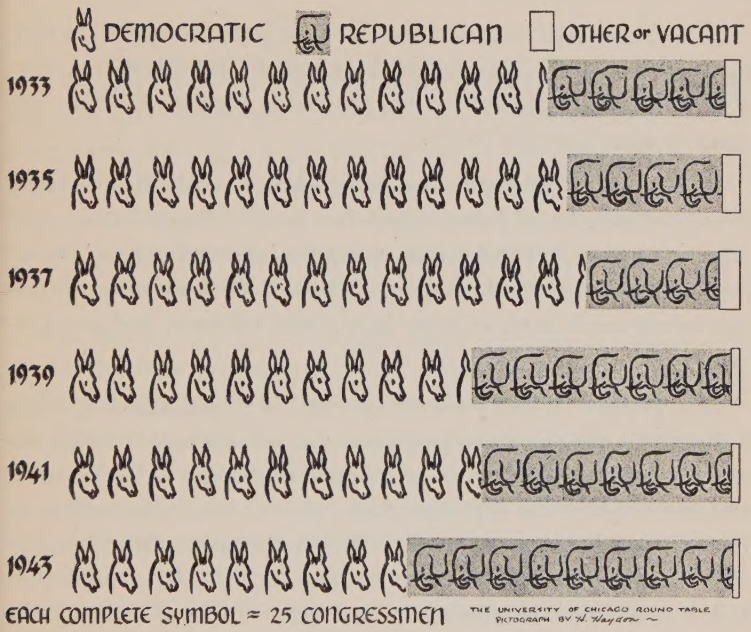
MR. LERNER: I think that people are always slow to learn and slow to forget, and yet I would venture this assertion—that this is the best-run war that America has had, for all its difficulties and for all its failures.

GOV. STASSEN: I must disagree with you.

MR. JACOBY: I must disagree, too. I think that we did forget that we had a big war twenty-five years ago that involved a quarter of our productive effort; that we learned a good deal about organizing for war then; and that we have been at war well over a year before we're beginning to apply the lessons then learned, such as placing, let us say, all the power or control of fuel in the hands of one man.

MR. LERNER: Yet when one looks at the message on the state of the Union, which the President delivered to Congress the other day, one finds that the actual record we have made in terms of munitions, in terms of artillery, in terms of tanks and planes and ships, is a magnificent record, even compared with the record of the first

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION



World War. Within a year we have far outproduced ourselves over the course of the whole of the last war.

Mr. Jacoby: We're a much bigger and more populous country.

Gov. Stassen: You cannot compare this war with the last. Furthermore, you must give the major credit for that record to the American production system, to labor and management, and to the resources that we have. I think that while it's true that we learn through trial and error, we should not permit the errors to go too long, especially in wartime.

MR. LERNER: Of course, we want to give the major credit to those who actually produce things. Bureaucrats don't produce anything; yet the production has gone on within a framework of Democratic leadership.

MR. JACOBY: Of course, it remains to be seen how much the producers have been helped or hurt by some of the leadership. However, let's leave that question and proceed to the second main challenge in our discussion today.

ANNOUNCER: *The Republican party stands for achieving prosperity through stimulation of private enterprise.* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask how real the charge is that private enterprise is being hampered. What does the Republican party propose to do about the preservation of private enterprise in terms of taxes, tariff, labor relations, and social security?*

MR. JACOBY: If I may answer that first of all, I'd like to say that I think that the vigorous restoration and re-creation of private enterprise in this country is one of the great challenges to the Republican party. So far the Administration has only been able to offer, as its post-war domestic economic program, expanded social security and a program of public works. That's all very fine, but I think that it'll be much more heartening to the boys at the front if they know that the party to which they belong is offering them opportunity for jobs in industry rather than better security and more doles.

GOV. STASSEN: I agree with you, Mr. Jacoby, except that I think that you state it in too much of the alternative. I believe that we should have a reasonable amount of both opportunity and security. I think that the Republican party can and should work that out as a post-war policy.

First of all, our primary principle ought to be to create that environment in which private enterprise can secure maximum production, because production, after all, is what gives you your high standard of living. Second to that, the government should furnish

jobs in productive work for the rest of the people who cannot secure work through the working of free enterprise. Third, we should establish a floor of security below which we should not permit our people to fall, even in time of economic distress.[6]

MR. JACOBY: A good order in which to put them.

MR. LERNER: That's an admirable statement. Yet we sitting here can spin out our plans and ideas as to what the Republicans ought to do and ought to be thinking about. The Republicans have criticized; they have called names; they have created slogans. But what have they actually done during the past couple of years in the way of suggesting a genuinely specific economic program which would create the jobs? I submit that they haven't done it.

MR. JACOBY: Mr. Lerner, I must agree with you. If one looks at the historical record, that of the prominent Republicans, he finds that it has been principally one of "beefing" and not of constructive criticism. To be specific, consider the matter of labor policies. It seems to me that one challenge to the Republican party is that of accepting the National Labor Relations Act in its broad outlines and of accepting the principle of collective bargaining as necessary in a country where large aggregates of capital bargain with large groups of men, and to make collective bargaining work through, let's say, a peace labor board that will lay down the principles under which all individual bargains must be achieved.

GOV. STASSEN: Mr. Jacoby, you're not fair in stating that position as to the Republican party. In fact, I think that if they had not been defending so vigorously our system of private enterprise, we would not have had as healthy an industry, ready to move in, along with labor, in this critical war-production job.

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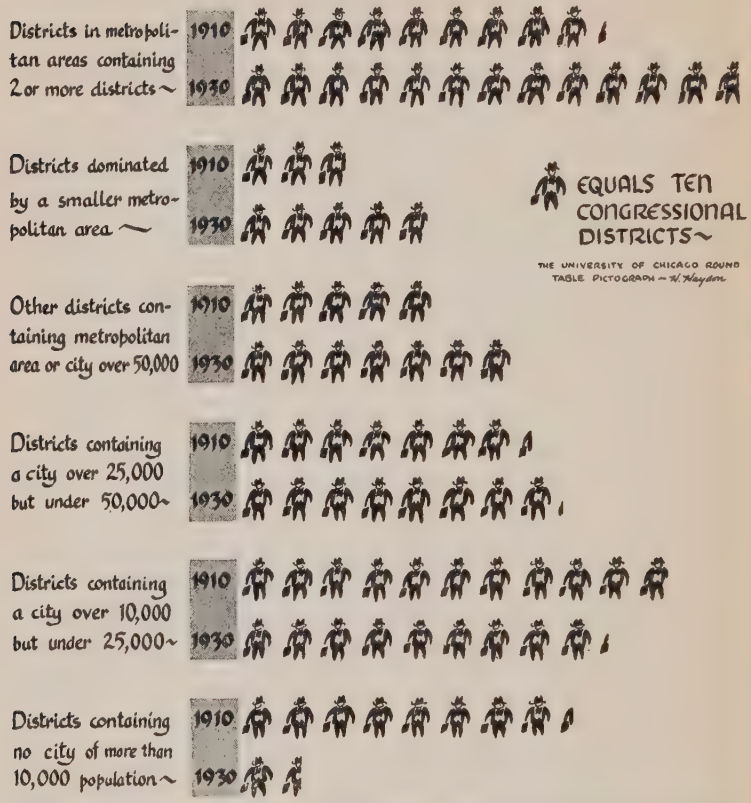
[6] For a discussion of social security in the United States and the Beveridge Report in England see Neil Jacoby, Maynard Krueger, and Clyde White, *Social Security: Challenge to Democracy*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 248, broadcast December 20, 1942.

CLASSES OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS 1910 AND 1930*



* A. N. Holcombe, *The New Party Politics* (New York: N. W. Norton & Co., 1933).

In other words, you cannot say that the New Deal approach prepared us for this terrific war-production job; rather the Republican policies placed us in position to be able to do this great job that Ford and General Motors and Kaiser and all the rest, with labor, are now doing.

Mr. Jacoby: I'm not denying, Governor Stassen, that the critical functions of the Republican party haven't served a good purpose. What I'm saying is that Mr. Lerner is right in arguing that too much of the time of the Republicans has been spent in exercising these defensive functions and not enough in proposing positive programs for improvement.

Gov. Stassen: The minority party has to do that.

Mr. Lerner: I rather agree with what the Governor says, but from what he says it would mean that the Republican party would be a very valuable permanent opposition party in order to deflect the Democrats from becoming too extreme.

Look at what the Republicans did when they were in power. Look at the economic program, the economic structure of the country under Hoover. Look at their attempt to create jobs. If we're going to be realistic, we've got to do that.

Mr. Jacoby: If we're going back into the dim Middle Ages . . . .

Mr. Lerner: I agree that they were Middle Ages.

Gov. Stassen: We could spend a half-hour on that.

Mr. Jacoby: But let's leave that and point to the fact that after about nine years of New Deal programs the only way we were able to get everybody jobs was to get into a war. I say that that indicates that the policies both of the old-guard Republican and of the New Deal Democrat have failed to achieve what we're after, which is full employment and full production.

Mr. Lerner: The moral of that is a very good one, and that is that we've got to use in peacetimes the same economic techniques which enable us in wartime to create full employment. We don't want to use those techniques for building battleships and airplanes. We want to use them for socially useful things. We want to use government expenditures for roads and hospitals, for rationalizing our transportation system, for developing river valleys, and so on.

Gov. Stassen: But, Mr. Lerner, I disagree with you in your emphasis. I would put first the production which private enterprise should be encouraged to perform and secondarily what government should perform in the matter of our highways, our rebuilding of cities, and our airways, in order to fit into our total economy.

Mr. Lerner: My own priorities would be to get the production accomplished in one way or another. If it can be accomplished by private enterprise, well and good. If it cannot, then the government must live up to its responsibilities.

Mr. Jacoby: That's a perfectly good formulation of the problem, if we remember that private enterprise has been severely hampered in the past—for a good many years prior to the New Deal but particularly since 1933—and that we must first do away with those hindrances before we say, "Well, let's see what private enterprise can do."

Mr. Lerner: I disagree that the hampering has come from government. I would say that private enterprise has been hampered by the fact that the conditions that once existed for dynamic factors of investment no longer exist. Population expansion, foreign markets, the extension of the frontier, the creation of new industries—all dynamic factors—have ceased to exist. Whether there are Republicans or Democrats in control in the future, they will have to live up to that change.

Mr. Jacoby: I regret to see such a pessimistic philosophy, Mr. Lerner.

Mr. Lerner: The only thing I'm pessimistic about is what the Republicans are likely to do in the next two years.

Mr. Jacoby: I'd like to point out that a good deal of this closure of markets has been brought about by our own economic policies. We have not permitted materials and men and capital to flow across the oceans and continents freely.

As a matter of fact, the Democratic party has been a party of high trade barriers, because we devaluated the dollar in 1933 and thereby put a high tariff on every product that came into the country.

Gov. Stassen: I, too, wish to interpose an objection to Mr. Lerner's defeatist approach to our economic future.

Geographical frontiers may be closed, but there are certainly frontiers for a dynamic economy in the laboratory, in plastics, and in so many activities that are now opening up. In that I see private enterprise as the best way to develop the research and the results of invention and ingenuity into a higher standard of living for the rank-and-file people of the country.

Mr. Lerner: What I'm saying is not defeatism. What I'm talking about is realism. If to be a realist is to be a pessimist or defeatist, then I live up to the charge.

I'm simply saying that we'd better not continue to live in a dream world, as, I think, we were living under the Hoover administration. We're going to have to create jobs no matter how we do it, whether through government or private enterprise. We're going to have to outdo the New Deal in the creation of a social security program which will serve as a floor against the fall of living standards.

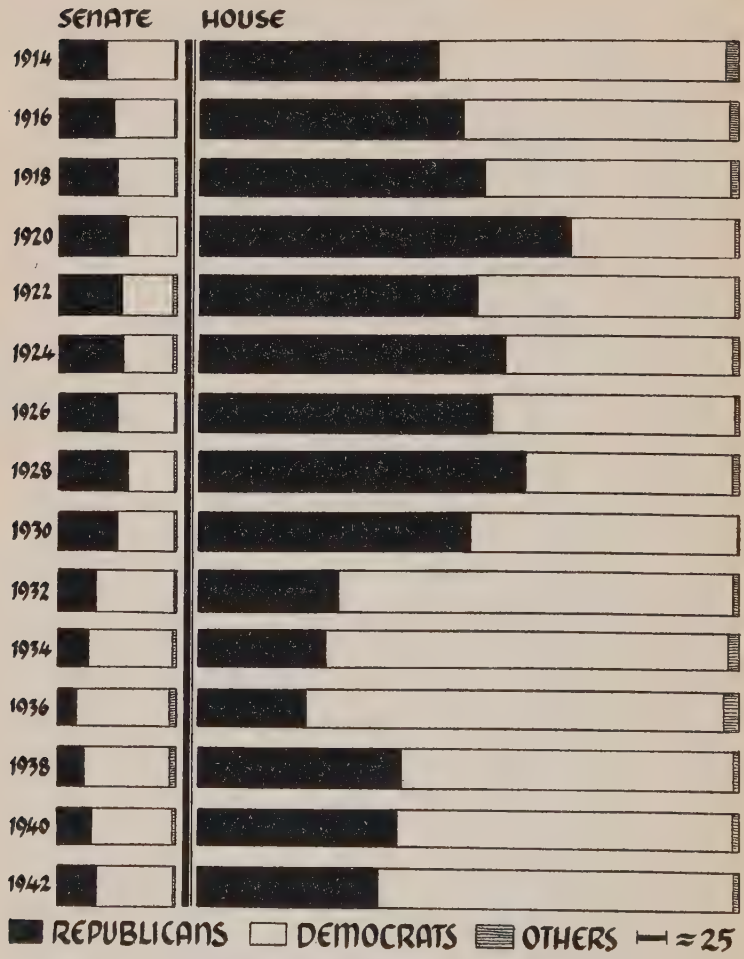
Gov. Stassen: May I interpose that America is a great nation today because of what we might call "practical optimists."

Mr. Lerner: Please count me among them.

Mr. Jacoby: Fine. We'll be glad to have you join us. Let me say, too, that there are some specific areas within which the Republican party, to my mind, ought to spell out its program definitely. One is a revision of the tax system in order to foster incentives and risk-taking rather than to deter them, as the present tax system does.

Another is to clean out monopoly. I think that Assistant Attor-

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF CONGRESS 1914–42*



* The year in each case is the year of election, and the numbers are as of the opening of Congress (*World Almanac, 1943*).

ney General Thurman Arnold's activities will have to be indorsed and given further aid by the Republican party.

A third is the matter of foreign trade. The party, if I had anything to do with the program, would stand for a drastic reduction of barriers of trade and would agree to do so *now*. It shouldn't wait for other nations to say, "Well, we'll go along with you and make concessions."

MR. LERNER: I disagree with your emphasis, Mr. Jacoby. Instead of saying what you said, I would put it this way: I would say that the Republican party as we have it today is faced by two alternatives. Will it go back to the economic primitivism of the past, which the reactionaries among the Republicans want it to go back to? Will it go back to an intense hostility to labor? Will it go back to trying to put the tax burden on the consuming and labor groups? Will it go back to an attempt to run the economic system primarily by private groups?

Or, on the other hand, will it follow the lead of the liberals, such as Governor Stassen, who want to be perhaps somewhat right of center, who agree with the New Deal objectives but differ as to mode and approach? Unless we are able to get the second chosen rather than the first, we're going to be in for a rough time.

GOV. STASSEN: Mr. Lerner, the Republican party will not go back. I'm sure that it's going to go forward and that America's going to go forward with it.

ANNOUNCER: *Many* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask: "What is the foreign policy of the Republican party now and what should it be after the war? Should politics end at the water's edge in wartime? Should the Republican party's foreign policy be one of support of a permanent federation of the United Nations?"*

MR. LERNER: I'm definitely in favor of having both the Republican and the Democratic parties understand that we can win the future only if America assumes the position of leadership in a post-

SHIFT IN STRENGTH OF THE NEW CONGRESS*

* The Republicans won control of five states, increased control in ten states, and retained control of seven states. The Democrats increased control in six states and kept control of eighteen states. The two parties evenly divided control of the congressional delegation in Idaho. In Wisconsin no party has control, for the Republicans have half of the delegation and the Democrats and the Progressives, the other half (United States News, [illegible]

war world of a really strong United Nations movement. That means, of course, that during the war we must do everything we can to fight a genuine coalition war with our Allies and, then, project those procedures into the future.

Gov. Stassen: There is, of course, in the Republican party on this matter a great variation of views—from those who are against cooperating with other nations on the one extreme, who say that we're giving away too much and that we're subordinating our own national interests to others, to those who go to the other extreme and want complete world government. But I think that an increasing majority of the Republicans, both leadership and rank and file, are definitely moving toward accepting world responsibility and of taking leadership in this country in these future problems between the other nations of the world and the United States. In fact, I would say that they feel that this Administration is not following through in its actions as well as in its speech—that they ought to bring in China and Russia to an increased degree, and to an increased degree fight a United Nations war that we may better follow through to win a United Nations peace.

Mr. Jacoby: I like your emphasis on the last point, Governor, that it would be a good move for the Republican party to make—to stand for more adequate and quicker and continuous consultations with Russia and Britain particularly, also China, on the nature of the post-war world. It's unfortunate, I think, that so much of the thinking about post-war international arrangements is being done in this country.

Mr. Lerner: I would say that the man on the street, despite everything that the Governor has said, tends to feel that the Republican party is the party of isolationism. That has been its record before, and it's up to it now to demonstrate that the man on the street is wrong.

Gov. Stassen: I don't believe that the man on the street thinks

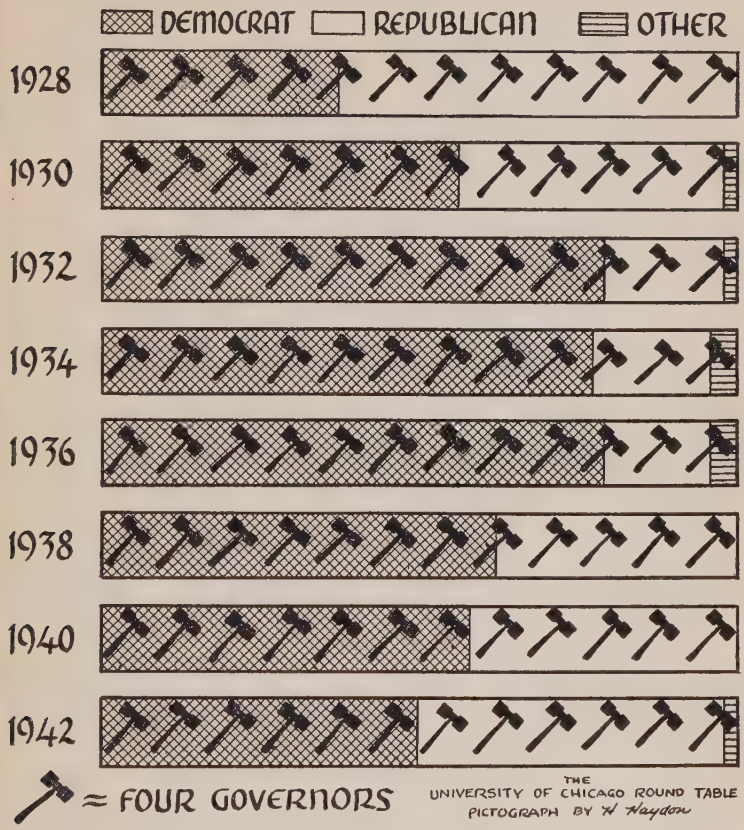
that any more. I think that this last election on November 3 showed it, because at that time seventy-five million people of this country in the states elected Republican administrations. They did not elect them on the whole on anything approaching isolation. So that I believe that the Republican party is securing a new characterization, and very properly so, to the rank-and-file people of this country.

MR. JACOBY: A lot of Americans also are now vaguely afraid, I find, that our foreign policy may be one of large and continuous handouts to foreign countries, even carried to the extent that our standards of living will be depressed. What do you think the Republican attitude is, or should be, on that point, Governor?

GOV. STASSEN: I think that the Republican program will be to help other nations, but not to place them on a permanent dole, shall we say—in other words, an approach of a helping hand rather than a handout. That may seem like a minor distinction and yet it's tremendously important, and it has a bearing upon the recognition of the dignity of men throughout the world and their desire to work out their own futures.

MR. LERNER: I feel strongly, Governor, that there's been an attempt in the press to distort what Mr. Wallace has been saying about his post-war program in this connection. This isn't on the part of the Democrats who are thinking about a post-war world—this isn't an attempt to be philanthropic toward Hottentots, or anybody else. Actually we should have learned by now that the fate of foreign peoples, whether Hottentots or others, conditions our own fate and that unless they are able to buy our products, unless we can help them to get back on their feet, economically, politically, morally, America must face a very bleak future.

MR. JACOBY: There's another problem in this area, and that is the problem of sovereignty. We know that there now are floating in the air many proposals for the United Nations federations, or



* *United States News*, November 13, 1942.

world-wide federations, in which the sovereignty of nations will somehow be subordinated to a new supernational organization.

I notice that Mr. Spangler, the recently elected chairman of the Republican National Committee, has cautioned that the party ought not to stand for the giving-up of sovereignty by the United States. What would you say to that, Governor?

Gov. Stassen: I think that it's unfortunate to approach this problem of working with other nations on a basis of giving up sovereignty. It's a very negative approach. If you approach it that the people are sovereign, the people never give up their sovereignty. They may transfer the place at which a particular sovereignty shall be exercised, but they themselves hold it.

In other words, I look forward eventually, through a period of transition, to when the people of this country will not only be the citizens of their respective states, not only citizens of the United States of America, but also citizens of the United Nations of the World, and that will mean new duties, new responsibilities, and new opportunities to the people.

Mr. Jacoby: I like the statement of that ideal, Governor, but I'd like to throw out a word of caution. It would seem to me unwise for the Republican party to commit itself too specifically at this stage on international political organization because the tremendous war that we're fighting is going to show, in the next year or two, far more definitely what are the various territorial strengths and deficiencies of different continents and areas, and they're going to reveal more clearly various national political interests and aspirations.

I think, however, that if the Republican party should stand now for free movements of resources, men, goods, and capital across boundary lines, without which no system of political organization will work, it would have made a great forward step.

Mr. Lerner: I don't think that it's too early now to commit ourselves. In fact, unless we commit ourselves during the war, we're going to find that we've got to face incalculable dangers after the war without having the means to face them.

Gov. Stassen: At least we should discuss them frankly now, even though we don't reach the final conclusion.

Mr. Lerner: That's right. Actually, the alternatives that we

have are whether we're going to walk boldly into the future, using the devices that we have created during the war, using our comradeship with the British, with the Chinese, with the Russians, or whether we're going to attempt to go back to a so-called "world of normalcy," as we did under the Harding administration; whether we're going to try to patch up the world; whether we're going to try to make them stick together again all these bits of the world by some string and some glue and a sense of fatigue and a dash of wishful thinking.

GOV. STASSEN: We have a world-wide vision now to win this war. We've got to keep our sights high and have a world-wide vision to win the peace—an enduring people's peace.[7]

MR. JACOBY: Well said; and one test of the Republican party is going to come up next June, when the renewal of the reciprocal trade treaties will be considered. I think that it would be fatal to long-term Republican political futures if the Republican party should not go along in that renewal.

Gentlemen, our views differ on exactly how the platform of the Republican party should be written at the next convention, but I think that we heartily agree that 1943 presents as great a challenge to Republicanism as has ever existed.

If the Republican party is to continue to be a vital force in American politics in the years ahead, it's challenged now to break with

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[7] Governor Stassen in a speech in Minneapolis before the Foreign Policy Association, on January 7, proposed a permanent federation of the United Nations, with legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, to guarantee "an enduring peoples' peace." He also proposed a mobile land army, a navy, and an air force that would be established to enforce the federation's code of laws which would be designed to stimulate world trade and to maintain the freedom of the air and of the seas. He called for a "definite continuing organization of the United Nations after the war. . . . ." "I do not propose," he said, "that we enter into the systems of devious diplomatic and international intrigue in relations between countries but rather that we bring to these relations some of the forthright and direct dealing that has characterized the relations between the forty-eight states of America."

certain traditions and philosophies with which it's been associated in the public mind.

We think that isolationism must cease to be a label of the party policy. Governor Stassen and Mr. Lerner stress the leadership that the United States can take in controlling world aggression and in developing cultural and educational values, whereas I would stress the Republican opportunity to make free trade relations its cardinal point.

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More on This Topic

BALDWIN, JOSEPH C., "Challenge to Democratic Institutions," *Vital Speeches*, November 15, 1942.

CHASE, STUART, "The War of Words," *Common Sense*, August, 1942. *Examines the argument between the "free enterprises" and the "planners."*

DILLIARD, IRVING, "Will the New Deal Die in Congress?" *New Republic*, January 4, 1943.

HOOVER, HERBERT, "A New Approach to Peace," *Vital Speeches*, January 1, 1943. *Argues the necessity of a plan for a conditional peace before attempting to solve the problems of a lasting peace.*

JANEWAY, ELIOT, "Trials and Errors," *Fortune*, December, 1942. *Says that the President's failure to purge his administration led to defeat at the polls.*

MEIKLEJOHN, ALEXANDER, "Congress and the People," *Nation*, November 7, 1942. *The problem of the general welfare versus pressure-group welfare.*

"The New Congress: Realignment of Power," *United States News*, January 1, 1943.

"Post-war—Stassen's Seven Points," *Time*, June 15, 1942. *Argues for a world association of free peoples with minimum standards for its members: religious freedom, fair internal justice, elective governments.*

SPANGLER, HARRISON E., "The GOP's New Stand," *American Magazine*, February, 1943. *The recently elected chairman of the Republican National Committee states the objectives of the opposition party.*

STASSEN, HAROLD E., "The Future of the Republican Party," *Nation*, December 13, 1941.

"Whither Willkie," *Time*, January 4, 1943. *An analysis of the strength of Republican leader Willkie.*

WILLKIE, WENDELL, "Accord Needed Now," *Vital Speeches*, December 15, 1942. *States the need for definite organization of the United Nations now.*

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What Do *You* Think?

1. How would you answer the question: "What is the Republican party?" In your opinion what are the objectives of the Republican party? What should be the responsibilities of the party in wartime?

2. One of the generally stated objectives of the Republican party is the preservation of free enterprise. What does the Republican party propose as essential for preserving free enterprise? What revisions in the tax system would encourage free enterprise? Is it possible to fit into a free-enterprise society a great program of public works and thus guarantee a job to every demobilized American soldier? Discuss.

3. What answers would you give to Mr. Lerner's questions about the future of the Republican party? Do you think the Republican party will go back to "an intense hostility to labor," "trying to put the tax burden on the consuming and labor groups," "an attempt to run the economic system primarily by private groups," or will the Republican party follow "the lead of the liberals, such as Governor Stassen, who want to be perhaps right of center, who agree with the New Deal objectives but differ as to mode and approach"? Discuss. Which policy do you favor?

4. Do you agree with Governor Stassen when he says, "I think that an increasing majority of the Republicans, both leadership and rank and file, are definitely moving toward accepting world responsibility"? Do you think the Republican party should adopt a foreign policy of participation and cooperation such that, after a period of transition, "the people of this country will not only be the citizens of their respective states but also citizens of the United Nations of the world"? Discuss.

The People Say . . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years," broadcast January 3, 1943.*

*

What about Magnesium?—

. . . . no mention whatever was made of magnesium. This was indeed surprising to me, as apart from its use in the manufacture of munitions, it has been given considerable publicity for its use in the building of many parts of airplanes, etc., etc.

Our government has spent many millions of dollars in the development of plants and other facilities for the production of magnesium, and it would be interesting to know if this metal is apt to lose its present importance in our post-war development.—*A listener from San Francisco, Calif.*

*

How Developments Are To Be Used Is Most Important—

. . . . I am becoming very tired of listening and reading all this business about the world to come, etc.

Oh, no, don't think for one minute that I am not interested in development and progress, I am. But I am more interested in how that development will be made use of by our people. And I know that unless national income is kept at a high level, well above 117 billion dollars, that all this great development will amount to nothing but hot air. . . . .

If all this talk about what we are fighting for, etc., is to be taken seriously, then why do not our best brains work out some concrete plans and back them up by law passed by Congress or presidential decree. The forty-hour week—absolute—for all, regardless, would be a beautiful start.—*A listener from New York City.*

*

Helps Plan for Future—

. . . . I believe that a series of programs dealing with the different aspects of future changes would be very profitable. As a high-school senior planning for college, I find such information and discussions help me to realize that my education will be indeed insufficient if it does not provide for the ability to adapt and readjust myself to the refashioned social structure scientific innovations are bringing to us.—*A listener from Berkeley, Calif.*

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186. *Anti-Semitism*
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1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
201. *Censorship*
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214. *War Profits*
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225. *Congress Investigates*
226. *Crisis in Shipping*
227. *Must We Hate Our Enemies?*

No.

228. *War Comes to the Farm*
229. *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now?*
230. *Political Reconstruction of the Post-war World*
231. *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*
232. *Challenge of the Four Freedoms*
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247. *Italy*
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249. *Woodrow Wilson: Prophet or Visionary*
250. *Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years*
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252. *Are We Well Informed?* January 17

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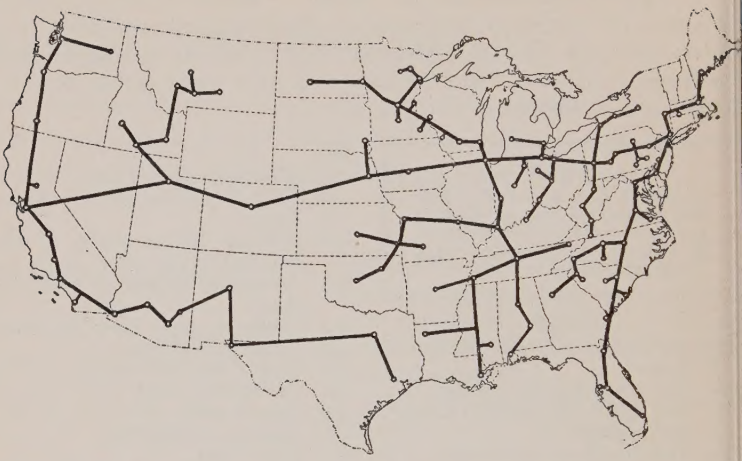

CHANGE OF TIME!

Remember that

The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE

is now heard

ONE HALF-HOUR EARLIER!

*

2:00 P.M.	Eastern War Time
1:00 P.M.	Central War Time
12:00 Noon	Mountain War Time
11:00 A.M.	Pacific War Time

*

Consult the following page for the ROUND TABLE stations

These are the NBC network stations that carry the ROUND TABLE at the new time

2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles	City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla	WLAK	1340	York, Pa.	WORK	1350
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240			

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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